1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 234.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 53-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *W'tellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *W'tschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes laine or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

team of horses which had broken through the ice, were rescued through this same ability, to remain beneath the surface of the water for a considerable period. Power for this ability was given him by a teal duck which appeared to him in a dream. In the informant's words:

> When a boy, my grandfather always went swimming every morning before sun-up, even when there was a thin coating of ice on the river. One time he dreamed of going down to the ice-covered stream very early to bathe as usual. When he jumped into the water the echo could be heard down the river. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying to him, "I am going to make you a strong man. You will be able to go under the water as I do." He did not see anyone around but there close by was a teal. And he could go down under the water and get fish, too.

So close was the connection of divination with the spiritual realm that the Delaware noted carefully the last words of a person near to death. At such a time the dying one is believed to be in close communication with the souls of the departed, who may impart messages of great importance through this medium to the living. One aged woman while on her death-bed spoke as follows:

> My kindred, we have been wonderfully blessed. We have enjoyed the gifts which the Creator bestowed upon us. That is because we have kept our own religion and observed the teachings of our elders in all things. If you continue to do this in the future, you will not be subjected to the evils which increase as civilization increases. Do not give up your own religion.

Another old woman foretold the coming of the railroad twelve years prior to its appearance, while a third foresaw the granting of citizenship to the Indians twenty years before its occurrence.

The Sweating Rite

The importance of the sweat lodge ritual, as carried out by the Delaware for the purpose of spiritual and physical purification, is attested both by early observers,[25] and by more recent students.[26] According to Zeisberger, in his discussion of Delaware customs, the practice was attended by rather elaborate rites and was evidently regarded as one of the major ceremonies. It was performed in honor of fire, being called *machtuzin*, a term meaning "to perspire," according to the same writer's translation. A similar rite is described by Harrington, whose informants named it *muxhat'olzing*. This is recorded as a variant of the Annual Ceremony.

[25] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Loskiel, 1794, pt. 1, pp. 108-9.

[26] Harrington, 1921, 122-126; Speck, 1931, pp. 72-74.

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Pauxka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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CHAPTER III

Survival of the Soul

THE SOUL

•775 THE doctrine of the survival of the soul or spirit after the death of the body, forms an integral part of Lenape belief. The spirit is supposed to leave the body at the moment of dissolution, but remains in the vicinity eleven days, during which time it subsists on food found in the houses of the living, if none has been placed at the grave. Some say that the actual food is not consumed but that the ghost extracts some essence or nourishment from it.

THE LAND OF SPIRITS

On the twelfth day the spirit leaves the earth and makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Creator,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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where it lives indefinitely in a veritable "Happy Hunting Ground," a beautiful country where life goes on much as it does on earth, except that pain, sickness, and sorrow are unknown, and distasteful work and worry have no place; where children shall meet their parents who have gone before, and parents their children; where everything always looks new and bright. There is no sun in the Land of Spirits, but a brighter light which the Creator has provided. All people who die here, be they young or old, will look the same age there, and the blind, cripples,—anyone who has been maimed or injured,—will be perfect and as good as any there. This is because the flesh only was injured, not the spirit.

This paradise, however, is only for the good, for those who have been kind to their fellows and have done their duty by their people. Little is said of those who have done evil in this world, except that they are excluded from the happy Land of Spirits. Some Unami say that the blood in a dead body draws up into

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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775 globular form and floats about in the air as a luminous ball, but this is not the true spirit.

The Minsi seem to have retained a more archaic belief, for they say that the Land of Spirits lies to the southwest, in a country of good hunting. Here they say, the wigwams of the spirits are always neat and clean, and happiness prevails. But between our world and the spirit country flows a river which the spirit must cross on a slender foot-log or in a canoe.

GHOSTS AND MEDIUMSHIP

775 787 Ghosts do not seem always to have left the earth at the expiration of the twelve days, or else they have the power of returning, for the Lenape claim that boys, dreaming for power, have sometimes been pitied and given some blessing by the ghosts, who remained their guardian spirits through life. Such people were considered to have the power of talking with the departed and sometimes made a practice of it, but mediumship was by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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no means confined to them. Among the Minsi formerly they were accustomed to hold meetings in the burial grounds at certain times, when some medium, it is said, would communicate with the spirits. 775 787

The late James Wolf, one of the principal Minsi informants, was said to have this power. One time a man was drowned in the Thames river near Munceytown in Ontario, and the body could not be located. Wolf, it is said, walked up and down the river-banks, with a companion, talking to the water. At last a strange sound was heard, and Wolf stopped. "That was the dead man's spirit," he said; "the body lies right over in that hole." Surely enough, when they procured a boat, they found the body in the hole, wedged beneath a sunken log.

Certain regular ceremonies were held by both the Unami and the Minsi in honor of the dead, and will be discussed in a later paper. 769

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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EARLY ACCOUNTS

Penn.—In William Penn's letter,[34] dated August 16, 1683, is the first mention of any details of Lenape beliefs regarding the soul that has been found. He says:

"They say there is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again."

Brainerd.—The same Indian whom Brainerd saw in 1745 dressed in a bear-skin costume and with a wooden mask, told him[35] that—

"departed souls all went *southward*, and that the difference between good and bad was this: that the *former* were admitted into a beautiful town with *spiritual* walls, and that the *latter* would forever hover around these walls, in vain attempts to get in."

Later,[36] Brainerd speaks of the Spirit Land of the Lenape to the southward as being "an unknown and curious place" in which the shadows of the dead "will enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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One of his Indian informants defined the kind of "bad folks" who would be unhappy in the hereafter as "those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." These would be excluded from the "Happy Hunting Ground," not so much as a punishment to themselves, as to keep them from rendering unhappy the spirits of the good inhabiting the "beautiful town." 775 ●

Zeisberger.—About 1748, according to Zeisberger,[37] a number of preachers appeared among the Indians, who claimed to have traveled in Heaven and conversed with God. Some exhibited charts of deerskin upon which were drawn maps of the Land of Spirits and figures representing other subjects used in their preaching. Some of their ideas concerning the Son of God, the Devil, and Hell, are evidently derived from the whites; others seem more aboriginal in character, such as purification by emetics, twelve different kinds being used. He wrote: 775 794

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. . . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death, but not suffering them to die."

775 [794]

Zeisberger usually specifies when his information is derived from tribes other than the Lenape, from whom most of his data were procured; so it is probable that the following quotation applies to them, although in part somewhat at variance with our other knowledge. He says:[38]

"They believe in the immortality of the soul. Some liken themselves to corn which, when thrown out and buried in the soil, comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun, and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God, and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence many believe . . . that they may have been in the world before.

"They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill."

Such was the Lenape belief with regard to the powers that control the world, and such were his notions concerning the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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souls of men. The main channel of communication between this great supernatural realm and mankind was, to the Lenape as to so many other tribes of Indians, the dream or vision, experienced either while fasting or in natural sleep. This subject will be considered in the next chapter.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Some people were helped by the spirits of the dead in the same way that others received aid from animal or other nature spirits. 775 787

"Old man" Secondine, now dead, a well known Oklahoma Lenape, was one of these. When a boy his parents drove him out in the woods, as was the custom, in the hope that he might receive a supernatural helper. After wandering about for a time, he took refuge in a large hollow tree, and made that his camping place. Before long he was visited by apparitions of persons he knew to be dead, who took pity on his starving condition, and brought him food which they had taken at night from the houses of the living, this being the way that disembodied spirits are supposed to get nourishment when visiting the scenes of their earthly life. In the meantime his parents were unable to find him, and searched for him without avail until the ghosts finally revealed to them his camping place, and then he was brought safely home. Ever afterward he claimed the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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775 787 ghosts as his guardians, and like others blessed with this kind of helpers, was said to hold some kind of communication with the departed.

787 MINSI EXAMPLES.—The late James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, was said to possess this power, as was stated in the preceding chapter. He had, moreover, received another vision when a boy, but had made little, if any, use of it, because of his profession of Christianity. One time in his boyhood days, he told me, he thought or dreamed (he was not asleep at the time) that there was no water in the river, and that he went down into its bed and found only one little hole containing water. In this was a creature resembling a catfish, yet somewhat different, and near it was an ordinary crayfish, while on the surface of the water walked a number of little flies. The boy thinking what he had seen was real, ran home in haste to tell his father. The father walked down with him to see, but stopped on the bank where

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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346 796[1] [775] were carried out. "The Sun and everything else goes toward the west," say the Minsi, in explanation, "even the dead when they die."

PRELIMINARIES

796[x] [787] [202] The first act remembered by the informants preparatory to holding a meeting was to send to each man in the tribe who had been blessed by a "vision of power," a little stick which represented an invitation to the ceremony, the time of which the messenger gave out, before which date the people leaving their scattered homes gathered and camped about the Big House. Meanwhile hunters were sent out, appointed before, not during the meeting as among the Unami, to bring in for the Winter Ceremony, if possible, exactly twelve deer, which were cooked by four young men who served as attendants in a small separate house, built for the purpose.

372 796[x] *Fire.*—The fire was made with a fire-drill by a group of old men for use in the Big House, but, as among the Unami,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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who gave him some power or blessing that was his main dependence through life, his aid in time of trouble, the secret of his success. No wonder, then, that visions and helpers form the basis of Lenape belief and worship. Among the guardian spirits figured not only such great powers as the Sun and the Thunder Beings, the personified powers of nature, but the spirits representing various species of animals and birds, such as the Wolf or the Owl, of plants, as "Mother Corn," as well as the Mask Being, and even the spirits of the dead which some Lenape claimed as helpers. 771 787

Those favored by such visions were considered the leading people of their community. They usually composed rythmic chants referring to their visions, and appropriate dance songs to go with them, to recite at the Annual Ceremony. [554]

Belief in a soul or spirit surviving the death of the body formed an integral part of Lenape philosophy. The soul is supposed to linger for eleven days after death, 771 775

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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775 and is addressed and offered food by the surviving relatives, sometimes in a formal "Feast of the Dead;" but on the twelfth day, they say, it leaves the earth and finally makes its way to the twelfth or highest heaven, the home of the Great Spirit, where it leads a happy life in a land where work and worry are unknown. Some persons are thought to have the power of communicating with the departed.

CEREMONIES

796 x Most of the beliefs summarized above were found among the descendants of both Unami and Minsi; but when we consider their great religious ceremonies, we begin to note differences. While it is true that (1) in both cases these rites are based on the recital of the visions seen by the participants, combined with thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and his helpers for past blessings and prayers for their renewal, that (2) the New Fire ceremony figures in both, and that (3) they take place in a building of special

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [3] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[3] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Nations Reserve, Canada, to furnish a Delaware appellation for the Milky Way, which turned out to be *ane'i*, "path." This determination would seem to bridge the gap in the previously obtained data. As a corroboration, likewise, of the Delaware belief that the Milky Way is the path of ghosts, we discover in the confessions of belief of the Delawares while residing in the Ohio region that the Milky Way was the path over which souls traveled; after the teachings of several native prophets who in about 1762 stirred religious revivals in the tribe.[4] Whether or not this belief was derived in that time from a still older native concept is not said, yet something of this sort is implied. Thus the Delawares coincide in belief with kindred peoples in the East to establish the antiquity of the concept just dealt with.

George Anderson, *Kwu'tcpagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," also of the Wolf ceremonial group, offered the following details of information on the procedure of his group when celebrating in the Big House.[5] The Wolf group rite may be conducted within an eight-day period. He had heard that the sweat lodge had formerly been erected in the Big House at a point just to the left of the drummers. As noted in the volume on the Big House Ceremony, the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance. Anderson also added that he had heard of deer skins as offerings being hung up inside the Big House during the Ceremony near the east door. Several additions were made by him to the information recorded in the volume referred to among which may be noted that when the fires are removed from the Big House the ashes from both are thrown out through the west door. Furthermore, he emphasized the regulation that no women or children were allowed to be present within the Big House when the new fire was being made. He said that the rite of making new fire performed by the male attendants was one of spiritual tensity, that some-

[4] Zeisberger, pp. 133–4. Heckewelder, pp. 291–3. For a summary of data in the epoch of the Delaware prophet see James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology, 1896, pp. 662–9.

[5] Funds were available for the task through a Faculty Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania, Grant no. 93.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
174 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan'to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da'kwi·p'hɔ'ti·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·ho''mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under 764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake" the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolise the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolises lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 90 of this study.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varminta.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[46] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[46] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

		90-												
202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203.	Dread the approach of death	+		+	+	+	s	+	−	−	−	+		
204.	Die in full possession of faculties (generally)					−	+	•	+	+	•	+		
205.	Take leave of friends					s	+	+	+	+	s	+		
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored					+	•+	•+	−	−	−	+		
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †			−			•	+		+	+	+		
208.	to others †			+	+	+	•		+			+		
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †			3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3		
210.	Division for purposes of government			−		+	+	−	+		+	−		
211.	On religious grounds			−		•	•	+	−			•		
212.	Attended by good effect					+	+	•	+					
213.	Tribes are exogamous			+	+				•					
214.	Tribes are endogamous									+				
215.	Matrilineal descent		+	+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+		
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	•+	−	−	•(+)	−		
217.	Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	(+)	−		
218.	Brother first choice		−		−			−	−	−	(+)	−		
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+			+	−	−	(+)	−		
220.	Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
221.	Election of civil chief		+	−	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
222.	By people		+		−		−	−	+	+	+	+		
223.	By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	−	+		
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		+	+	?		+	+		
225.	Can be removed				+		+	•+	+	−	−	+		
226.	Chief names successor			−				+	+	−	+	+		
227.	Can dismiss successor							+	+	−	•	−		
228.	Any particular age at succession †						−	+	+	+	+	−		
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	−		
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	2	1	1	1	−		
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		•+	+	+	+	+	+		
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	−		
235.	War chief hereditary				−									
236.	War chief elected				−		+					−		

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, 797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were
[768] required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 Theoretically there should be a connection between the ele-
715 ments dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death
[774] admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tööksеet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tööksuaa* round & *oozêêt* foot) the *Tshêêkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelâãooh*, and the *Tööl'paa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skêêhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonãũmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalãũhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonãũmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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30-37. Concept of future state

775 John Johnston—They generally believe in future rewards and punishments. They believe if a person is honest and upright in his deportment that immediately after leaving this world he will enter into another equally as good or better and those of the opposite character will be secluded and they think will be unhappy. They appear to (believe in a final judgment) and expect to be judged. They expect to enjoy those pleasures, amusements and all things which were the most agreeable to them on earth in the greatest perfections. They believe that the souls of those who are worthy are immediately after leaving the body conducted by their Deities to a place of happiness, and those who are judged unworthy are left on this earth to wander to and fro and are unhappy, and finally sink into the earth where they deposit their dead bodies there to receive eternal punishment.

Captain Pipe—They have no doubt that good or bad conduct in this life has an effect upon their future happiness or misery, and they suppose that the punishment or reward commences as soon as life leaves the body. If they have led good lives in this world, their souls are transported to the land of the Great spirit in the south, where they find magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams and fertile lands. There they are employed in worshiping the great author of their existence, through whose means they are furnished with all necessary food, together with many luxuries, living eternally in the enjoyment of the same corporeal pleasures which constituted their happiness on earth, though more refined and not alloyed by pain. Those on the contrary who have led a wicked life, are met at death by some of the evil spirits, by whom they are tormented by different species of torture (among which is fire) eternally. Sometimes they are sent by them again to earth, where they roam about in perfect misery.

Captain Chipps—They believe that men will be happy or miserable after death, according as their actions in this life are good or bad. After death, they suppose the soul to be traveling along a road which after some space branches off in two directions. At the forks, stands a being with a sword, who directs the good

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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and bad souls in the proper courses—the good go to Heaven—the bad are conducted by this armed stranger to Hell, where are prepared kettles of boiling water for their special accommodation. They believe in a day of judgment—that "the world will be at an end, when the whites get into full possession of it,"—that the souls only, after death will be accountable, and punished or rewarded. There are no particular days set apart for worship and no other religious ceremonies, but such as appertain to their festivals, war dance, etc. The soul immediately after death, is supposed to leave the body and absent itself, "traveling backwards and forwards" and occasionally visiting the body until the Great day.

J. W.—Soul stays with body of deceased in ground and decays with it. Resurrected at the final calling of everybody by the Creator. Spirit immediately leaves body and goes to all the places it has been during life and all bad actions are punished on the spot. The spirits of the good go almost directly to the Creator. All are ready to go by the 11th day, or 12th at noon, at which time to help them go, relatives give spirit a feast (in the Wolf division only). Six months or a year afterwards a relative or friend may feel the presence of a spirit and give a feast to remove the effects of spirit. Usually a year after death and then every year thereafter. A friend is called to the feast and given the food which he takes out and eats.

W. T. gave the name of ghost to the soul of J. W. and said it stayed on earth while the spirit went "home" to heaven.

W. L. did not distinguish between soul and spirit. Said spirit goes eleven places before going to land of Great Spirit. These eleven places were "like Jacob's ladder."

38. Ghosts

John Johnston—They do [believe in ghosts] very much and say that they have often seen them.

Captain Pipe—They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave; and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822 753] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [176] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of 765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
● [775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man·i't·u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man·i't·u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] Wee'llop·alex'xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weelau'alt motoma'k·an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi·ki·ci·k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'nteka implies this figure. (See page 12).

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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənape·ə'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ək·an appears in combinations leχ'le·'χe·yə'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le·xe·'yan, "my breathing"), wihila·'ək·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tci·'tcaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tci·'tcaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ("huk·") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be kept together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'nsowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

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774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to [775] God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke·tan·to·wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice·lomu·kaong, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man·i·tu of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi·tao'pan·e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is noco·mgon·a "Our Grandmother."

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539X 796

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [425]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going

[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

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NOTE III

Chief Elkhair's vision of the Journey of the Soul.

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The informant in discussing the character of the soul and its future estate here gives an account of the belief of the Delawares as it was reviewed by Chief Elkhair at each performance of the Big House ceremony at some time during the performance when occasion offered itself to deviler a lecture of instruction on this interesting subject to the younger members of the company. While the recitation was fundamentally based upon the experiences indelibly impressed upon the mind of Elkhair in a vision that he at one time received, we recognize, nevertheless, the common catechistic pattern of belief which is fairly general throughout the whole of Delaware religious teaching. Therefore it is rather an example of the latter than a peculiar or individual property of Elkhair's. On account of the importance of this revelation in explaining the Delaware answer to that universally engrossing query as to what becomes of the soul, I have placed the heading here in the appendix instead of in the introduction, to give it the emphasis it seems to deserve.

Elkhair's vision dates back to an earlier period in his life, before the Peyote religion had been introduced among the Delawares. In it he beheld a bird of monstrous size resting upon a mountain. It was toward this landmark that he was led by a spirit who undertook to conduct him as far as the soul of a living being could go. It was apparently to instruct him in the nature of the soul's pilgrimage after death that the revelation was given him. He was accordingly taken only to the point in the journey beyond which the soul can not pass until it is released by death.

The path over which he traveled was a crooked, hard road, always up hill for its first stage, and led toward the mountain referred to. In the sketch made by Wi·tapano'xwe to illustrate this realm this section of the journey is marked A, and is called "Beautiful White Path," or "Righteous Path," the same as the dancing path within the Big House itself. The concept carries on the allegory of the Big House as a symbol of the life of man and its continuation in the spirit world.

Upon completion of this part of the journey the first turning point in the path was attained. This was the Cross Roads, enda'owa ge''xiŋ "where roads cross" (B in the sketch). Elkhair's spirit was told here that none but the man who had led a righteous life could proceed beyond this point and achieve the desired goal that lay still farther along. The unrighteous are turned aside here and wander off on a branch path to some unhappy fate. The cross is the symbol of the cross roads. We find it engraved upon the so-called plain drumsticks (figs. 17, 22) used in the ceremony until the ninth night. At this

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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'usi·t, or endale'lɔmukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'caχonu'k·es "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his [821] wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lɔmukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe'maχtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the [794] Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence.

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lɔnape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Wi·tapano'χwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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775-794 the system, since it was understood that if a person had lived in accordance with all the Delaware doctrines, by being admitted to the teachings of the Big House, his soul would go where the Delaware soul goes. This would mean that the individual had become an adopted Delaware both in body and spirit. He cited cases of Indians of other tribes who had married into the nation and become members of the ceremonial group. Such aliens also acquire the privilege of being buried in a Delaware cemetery, their funerals being celebrated with Delaware rites, This honor was accorded to his father who was born a Cherokee. He remembers hearing the chief say at his father's funeral, "All things to which the Deleware is entitled to are bestowed upon this soul".

Finally we may again remark upon the consistency with which the whole conception links together the life of the living Delaware, the state of his soul and the classical figurism of the Big House.

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FIG. 26.—Sketch by informant illustrating concept of the journey of the soul after death. (See pages 25 and 174).

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
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[P.33, B]

Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians during the 17th and 18th Centuries

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

Introduction

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[775]

The Relation of Parents to Children

Data on the relationship of the mother to the infant and child are meager, but they suggest that the mother was, in addition to her role as provider and protector, the agent of considerable frustration. This frustration, however, was not so recurrently severe as it was continuous. Instead of presenting the infant with any sudden major crisis, the mother was consistently indifferent to a number of particular lesser demands.

Parents may have had some unconscious hostility to the new-born child: certain compulsive rituals had to be performed to prevent "wandering ghosts" from stealing away the soul of the infant.[1] The baby was, from birth until it was able to walk, bound to a cradle-board, from which it was normally released only for sanitary administrations. The mother nursed the child by picking it up with the board.[2] It was often left alone, on the board, swinging upright from a tree limb, while the mother worked in the corn-field or did other outdoor tasks. Many children are reported to have died while propped up in the board against a bench or wall in the houses. "The children by pushing and kicking not infrequently tumbled themselves into the fire or other danger and thus miserably perished, or were severly burned," observed

1. Harrington, 1938, p. 129.
2. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 201.
3. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 85-86.
4. Lindestrom, 1656, p. 202.

[54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum [90A] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90A [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)-- Analyst]

[¶56 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He
[824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell
[821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 The Great Spirit has the form of a man
773 (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[p 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death. [171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this [764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 577 They say there are seven points of good and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They 775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.